105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them.

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadáw* had killed *Rukkadéñ*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Kăyábo*, a Bolo brave or *méñal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettuakan, *Kadáw's* place, and *Kăyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rây* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rây's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rây* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Kăyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg.

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Basílig* of Pansian, who belongs to the *Pa-rây* faction, saying that I had seen an *andôri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andôri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Kăyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Basílig*. But *Kăyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Basílig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki nâyá atáwana ya andôrina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andôri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadáw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw.

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
301 her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

847 ——*Kani maluhag da natudog gidam men. Ay ackat da pay amo to dalan di nalen da. Toto natudog da amin, agidogan da capagmat.*

——When the children woke up, it was already dark. So they did not know which way to go, as it was so very dark. They slept again and waited until dawn. In the morning they started for home. These children had no hope of reaching home, as they did not know the way and they were very hungry.

——*Ito pagmaat maway dan ca balay da. Am ackan da amo to dalan. Cana mabisan da paang natay da. To nagkatag da to ama da.*

——In the morning they started for home without knowing the way. They walked and walked until they died of hunger.

——*Cani matay da to ananac da nagpatay da paang. Ata bitig ya pananan da.*

——When the parents knew that they were dead, they were very happy: for they now had few children to support.

WHY THE PEOPLE ARE TATTOOED

304 775 If an old man is asked why his hands are tattooed on the back with the boat pattern, he will give the following account of his future life.

When a person dies his soul, *cadudorsa*, goes to live in a lovely place under the earth. It goes down

in the ordinary ground until it comes to a wide river which it cannot cross alone. 304 775

However, at the river the *cadudorsa* meets a ferryman whose name is Kutao. Before taking the *cadudorsa* across, Kutao must first inspect it to see if its appearance is right. He looks on the backs of the hands of the *cadudorsa* to see if they are tattooed with the boat pattern. If they are, Kutao ferries the *cadudorsa across*. If the hands are not tattooed, Kuta cuts them off before taking the *cadudorsa* across the river.

Upon arriving at the place, each *cadudorsa* becomes young and handsome again and changes so that all of the people in that place are similar in appearance. 775

The place of the *cadudorsa* is a wonderful country, with the same kind of plants and animals as on the earth; but everything is perfectly lovely. Life there is much as on earth; but everybody is happy because there is no pain, nor sorrow, nor work.

The ruler of the place is Ewagan fourth son of Hatan. He creates food for the people and takes care of all their needs so that they have no work and responsibilities, living in continuous leisure. [776]

Thus life in the Future is one continuous party. Also a *cadudorsa* is sometimes invited by his relatives to attend a *sayam* in his old home on earth. 769 776

2: Wilken--718 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Ipugao OA18 Bagobo OA7
Apayao OA5 Coastal Moro OA16
Malayo-Polynesians O4 Bontok OA12
Igorot OA20

A
If
Bn
Bg
CM
Ig
304

[665 cont.]

among the Bagobo and [666] the Samal (1), among the Guinan,

1. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, 1886, p. 15.

the Igorot (2), and Kiangan (3), and among the tribes who inhabit

2. Meyer, Publicationen a.d.Königl. Ethnogr. Museum zu Dresden, Table XVII, Figs. 1-2.

3. Blumentritt, "die Kianganen," Ausland, 1891, No. 6, p. 119.

the Gran Cordillera Central east of Abra, as well as the Bontoc and Apoyaos [Apayao] (4).

4. Verh. d. Berl. Ges. für Ethnol. Anthrop. und Urgesch. (1887), pp. 150-151.

MP
304

After this, there is certainly no need for further proof that the nose flute is more an Indonesian than an Oceanic instrument, because in Oceania only two instances are known where the occurrence of this instrument has been confirmed, on the Fiji and Tonga Islands (5).

5. Catalog. der Ethnogr - Anthrop. Abtheilung des Museum Godeffroy, pp. 172, 195.

Chapter 8

I
305

Page 238. As a supplement to this chapter, there is still some information about counting by nights, which is still generally

[Analyst's note—nose flute.]